



The Southern Church Justified in its support of the  
South in the present War:

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A LECTURE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION,

OF RICHMOND,

ON THE 21<sup>ST</sup> MAY, 1863;

BY

HON. JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER.

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RICHMOND, VA.:  
WM H. CLEMMITT, PRINTER.  
1863.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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*Richmond, Va., May 27th, 1863.*

HON. JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER:

*Dear Sir:*

The Directory of the Richmond YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, have instructed the undersigned, to request of you, for publication, a copy of the "very able lecture," entitled "The Southern Church justified in its support of the South in the present war," delivered by you on Thursday Evening, the 21st inst, as the Sixth of their Current Course.

We take pleasure, in hereby conveying to you, the wishes of the Directory, and will share their gratification in receiving an affirmative answer to this application.

We are, Dear Sir, yours very truly,

J. B. WATKINS,

GEO. W. JONES,

*Members Committee on Lectures.*

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*Richmond, June 1st, 1863.*

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your note of the 27th ult., communicating the wishes of your Directory.

I could wish the address were more worthy of the subject, and of the flattering estimate you are kind enough to place upon it. If its publication will justify us, in the eyes of those who look upon this struggle—but are strangers to it—or will stimulate the patriotism of our own people, or strengthen the assurance of the rightfulness of our cause in the mind of any soldier of our noble army, I shall feel my labor has not been in vain.

I submit the address to the disposition you propose.

Very respectfully,

Your friend,

J. R. TUCKER.

J. B. WATKINS, Esq., GEO. W. JONES, Esq., Committee.



## LECTURE.

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A Committee of the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION of Richmond, was appointed some time since, to prepare an address to Christians throughout the world, in respect to the principles, which controlled their action in the bloody and wasting war, in which these States are engaged. The suggestion has given occasion for the present address, in which it is proposed to present the grounds of justification of the attitude, which the Southern church holds to the present war

Certain preliminary considerations are proper before proceeding to the special discussion proposed.

The divorce of Church and State is accepted as an axiom in this discussion. The union of Church and State, we think, in this country, at least, is fraught with great evils ; and, though attractive in its outward form, to a superficial observer, tends, inevitably to injure the cause of pure religion by its corrupting contact with politics, and to do no good to political action, from its merely formal connection with religion. That union is fatal to both. It engenders hypocrisy in the State, and formalism in the Church.

But while all this is true, it is equally so, that Church and State deal with the same subjects of influence : the one in matters spiritual, the other in matters, social and political. It is obvious, therefore, that the action of the State, within its sphere, must, to a large extent, effect the progress and success of the Church. Social and political changes, may, therefore, produce good or evil results on the cause of religion—and may greatly advance, or retard the progress of Christianity.

The Church, therefore, can never be indifferent to political action: and where it is such as to impair or destroy its efficiency in the accomplishment of its great work, it is bound by the highest obligations of duty, to throw its influence against State policy, so disastrous to the kingdom of God.

Especially is this true, where a policy is proposed which upturns society, and threatens to array in fatal opposition, the classes composing it—those very classes, which are component elements in the organization of the Church: for the conflict once raised in society, will find its way into the peaceful fold of the Church, and thus rend its unity, and destroy the christian harmony, so essential to its well-being and progress.

But there is a still more important view of the interest, which the Church must ever feel in political action.

The great Apostle has enjoined upon the Church to pray “for all that are in authority, that we,” (that is, the Christian Church) “may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty ”

The Church is deeply involved in having good government—where right will be maintained—where justice will be administered—where Liberty under law will prevail. It is false to its duty, if it fails to throw its lawful influence on the side of good, and against bad, government. It is in as grievous error, where it takes the part of despotism against liberty—as where it sustains licentiousness against rightful authority. The Church cannot ignore the civil rights of its members, or be indifferent to the oppression to which they may be subjected by unconstitutional power. Religion cannot prosper—men cannot be brought under its benign influence, when despotism is destroying the liberty and trampling on the rights of the people; for men in such circumstances will be diverted from their religious to their civil interests, and will postpone spiritual concerns, for the attainment of present temporal benefits.

God has ordained the State Power, as the shield of His

Church and it is the right and the duty of the Church, entrusted with the interests of His religion, to sustain the State Power, when it is a shield against wrong—and to oppose it when it is a sword wielded for outrage and oppression.

But there is a still deeper view proper to be presented.

Civil and religious liberty are intimately related. Religious liberty is essential to the progress of Christianity. Freedom to think on religion, is vital to its existence. *Personal* responsibility requires freedom of mind to think and act under religious conviction. Interference and intrusion here is, therefore, fatal to true religion. The State that dares to mediate between the soul and its God, is a traitor to God—and the church is bound to aid in its overthrow. "There is one God, and *One* Mediator between God and men—the man Christ Jesus." This is *the Constitution* of the Church. The Church cannot, dare not, permit its subversion. The State, which substitutes itself for the "One Mediator" between the Church and its Maker, commits sacrilege; puts its unhallowed hand upon the Ark of God, and must be smitten down! There is no alternative.

But the history of the world has shown a wonderful gravitation between the civil and religious power. Civil power, (especially if despotic,) seeks the aid of religion to uphold its influence with its subjects. Thus, civil liberty has been achieved, where religious liberty, to the same degree, has not been obtained—but I think history furnishes no instance, where religious liberty has survived the destruction of civil liberty! A most mournful evidence of the truth of this, is at hand—and will be hereafter adverted to—where a despotism which destroys civil liberty by a revival of the Star Chamber, stifles prayer and religious utterance by the bayonets of its soldiery!

It is thus evident, that the Church in its freedom of religious thought—in its access to its God, through the Divine Mediator—is imperilled by the destruction of civil liberty—for, if religious cannot survive civil liberty, it follows that



the overthrow of the one is involved in that of the other.

When power, therefore, seeks, without lawful authority to destroy civil liberty, the Church, charged with the protection of its religious freedom, is bound to take its part with liberty against usurped power—and to struggle, under God, for civil rights, as the defensive outworks, which, if carried, must expose religious liberty to the assault of despotism.

These general views will be sufficient to show how far the Church is involved in the social and political questions which may convulse the world—and that occasions may arise, when duty may call it to the exertion of its energy, for the protection of civil institutions, menaced by usurpation.

I come now to the special consideration of the proper relation of the Church in the South to the present war: a war of *defence—not of aggression*.

War is not to be sought for aggression upon the rights of others—but it is not to be tamely avoided, when outrage and wrong threaten the heritage of liberty and right, which a kind God has granted to a people. War in defence of such an heritage, becomes stern and religious duty. It is the defensive holding of a talent, lent to promote the Divine glory—which cannot be surrendered without breach of faith and loss of character.

In such a war, the Confederate States are engaged. We vindicate its rightfulness. We neither sought, nor provoked it. We stood upon our right in the peace of God; and met war, when pressed against us, upon our very hearthstones, by the violator of that right. We had no alternative, but to surrender our heritage to the wrong-doer, or to defend it to the death.

In the fear of God, we decided to protect our birth right, assailed by war. For two years we have poured out an oblation of blood for the deliverance of our native land: and we will struggle, even to the end, for our national independence; and never—never—survive its loss!

In all this, we feel we are right in the sight of a just God. The facts which influence, and the principles which guide

our decision, have been misrepresented or misunderstood. To have a conscience void of offence towards God and men is the highest and best support of a Christian people. It is an inferior, but a desirable blessing, that the Christian world should respect our conscience, and acknowledge the rectitude of our decision—that those, united with us, as members of the Great Head of the Church, should recognize the purity of our motives, and the justice of our action. As a christian people, we appeal to them—nor shall our appeal be in vain!

The *occasion* (but *not* the *cause*) of this war, was secession. The *cause* of *secession*, the CAUSE OF THE WAR, was outrage perpetrated, and threatened, upon the constitutional rights of these States, and a violation of the charter, which bound all the States together in the late Federal Union.

In the providence of God, this union of thirty-three commonwealths, had grown up under, and upon the terms of, the Constitution of the United States. Up to the moment of its adoption, the separate sovereignty and independence of each of the original States was expressly retained and reserved by the old Articles of Confederation. In forming the Federal union, this State and others, expressly declared in their several acts of ratification of the Constitution, that the powers thereby granted “may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury and oppression;” “that every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their will;” and, by an express article of compact, it was declared, that all powers not delegated, were reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

These constituted the charter under which the Federal Government was established. The union was formed upon the basis of the Constitution, as a compact between sovereign States. •The reserved rights of the States were as essential to be maintained and defended, as the delegated powers vested in the union. The *two* together constituted “the Powers that be,” which were ordained of God. We

were as *religiously* bound to *defend* the one, as to *obey* the other. The preservation in proper equilibrium of the granted powers and the reserved rights; was the law of life to the union. The test question of our national being always was, whether the powers exercised had been really delegated. If exercised, when not granted, it was pure usurpation upon the reserved rights of the States—a disturbance of the equilibrium; an overthrow of the system. This, we were bound to oppose and resist, where the usurpation was fatal, by all the means in our power. The right of judgment and final decision as to such usurpation, was not in the Government—but, by reservation, remained with the States; for it is obvious, that if the right, finally to decide such an issue, resided in the Government exercising the disputed power, its delegated authority would become unlimited, and despotic, which was never intended; and would have made the reservation of all ungranted power, an empty form, and of no effect.

These abstract questions, so little understood by foreigners, became intensely practical, in our early history, and so continued, by reason of the difference in the structure of society, North and South.

By the hand of God, four millions of Africans had come to form the substratum of Southern society; the upper stratum being composed of the Caucasian race, to the number of eight millions.

These Africans constituted the labor of the South—and being adapted to rural industry, made the South chiefly a planting section. The North was chiefly commercial and manufacturing. The two sections were diverse, and even antagonistic, *industrially*.

The presence of the African race, incapable of amalgamation with the white race, by natural law, fixed and unalterable: incapable of political or civil equality with the white race, by original inferiority, and the debasement of centuries; incapable of freedom, except to be licentious and brutal and savage, and only fit to be enslaved, if order and

security were to be conserved; their deportation impracticable, and cruel to the African himself; the presence of this race, with these incapacities, raised questions of vital importance to the good order, to the moral character, and to the social security of the Southern States.

But with all these incapacities, there was one great Providential compensation. The presence of an inferior race with such a *status* fixed upon it, by necessary law, solved some political questions which have convulsed so-called free societies. It made the political institutions of the South more stable; its action less liable to the turbulence of free Democracies; and elevated the tone of political principle beyond the too ready influence of designing demagogues. It banished the "Isms" and political empiricism of the free States from our borders; and radicalism was, very slowly, introduced, and only from imitation, into the creed of the Statesmen of the South.

It did more. It secured the South from the curse of all countries, where this race, in slavery, does not constitute the laboring class. It saved us from the grinding conflict between capital and labor. Elsewhere these classes are in antagonism—here, they are, happily, at one!

It is obvious, without further suggestion, that the presence of this race in the South, presented subjects of momentous interest to us—questions of industry—of social order—of political stability—of moral and religious character.

The relation of Master and Slave race, where kindness to the slave is the rule, and cruelty the exception; under which the master has been elevated, by discipline, for the high duty of guardianship to an inferior race in its state of pupilage; under which, the African has been civilized and christianized to a greater extent, than under any other educational process to which he has ever been, or can be, subjected—this was the relation, we, of this generation, found in existence, which we could not change with safety—and proposed to control under the law of Him, whose Providence ordained it for us, and who never condemned it, but

prescribed regulations for it, as he did for all other lawful relations in life !

This relation was our social necessity. Its disturbance would be a social disaster—might be our social ruin. We could not surrender its control to any other than ourselves—especially to those who could not, or would not understand it—and, *more* especially, to those who were not only ignorant of the nature of the relation, but who religiously and fanatically detested it, and politically and socially antagonized us, on account of it. A government ignorant of the relations it assumes to control, is a mighty evil—but one, as hostile as it is ignorant, is absolutely fatal.

When, therefore, the North became, in all departments of the Federal Government, the controlling power, it was natural, that the South, in its hopeless minority, should jealously watch any attempt of the dominant section, to disturb this keystone in the arch of our social structure. Let this Sampson majority once lay hold upon these Ebon pillars of Southern society, and its ruin would be inevitable. The South saw this for fifty years, and strove honestly to prevent it. It felt, when Federal usurpation, grievous as it had been, but not yet intolerable, seized upon this question, the Union must be dissolved, or the South must perish !

But this question of slavery presented a serious aspect also, in matters of religion.

For more than half a century, the Northern mind had been deeply imbued with a hostile sentiment towards slavery. Fanaticism had seized the pulpit, the press, the hustings, the school. Professing Christian men saw slaveholding to be the most heinous sin. Preachers ceased to denounce the sin of unbelief in Christ, and preached perdition as the slaveholder's doom. Churches were disordered by the schismatic dogma, that slavery, *per se*, was sin. To hold a slave, was to hold damning heresy.

In vain did the Christian slaveholder quote the Old and New Scriptures—the language of Peter, of Paul, and of Christ—in vain, did he point to the slaveholding centurion,

as the Saviour's exemplar of a faith unattained by his chosen people—in vain, did he claim that the apostolic injunction of justice from the master to his slave, and of obedience from the slave to his master, was inconsistent with the doctrine of the inherent sinfulness of the relation between them. The answer of Abolition was simple: "If the Bible sanctions slavery, it is not from God! If Christ tolerated slavery, he is not a divine teacher!" Thus, anti-slavery became anti-Christ! and Abolition became Infidelity and Atheism!

The Southern christian was denounced in the convention, the conference and the assembly of his church. He was virtually excommunicated—or so stigmatized, that he felt he was useless in union with those, who so abhorred him. Within the fold of the Southern Church, were "believing masters" and "believing slaves," who sat as brethren at the same communion, and worshipped the same Master in Heaven. The teachings of the Northern Church tended to rend this Christian unity; to make the master severe from suspicions of the fidelity of his slave, and the slave discontented and rebellious, from the idea of the outrage upon his rights by his master, which Abolition so loudly proclaimed. The Southern Church was reviled for not preaching Abolition—and thus its progress was retarded, its unity was rent, its peace was destroyed.

The christian slaveholder found his duty to his slave enjoined in the Bible; taught him the way of eternal life; made him a christian man; loved him, tended him in sickness, and promoted his well being and his happiness. The church, of which he was a member, denounced him, and pilloried him before the world as the greatest of sinners, as the enemy of the cross of Christ. His conscience was condemned, and not respected. His usefulness in the church was gone. Bound to seek peace and to pursue it, he found his only course as a Christian, was in separation—in *Secession*.

Several denominations, containing large numbers of masters and slaves; more christian slaves in communion with their christian masters, than there were of the African race, in all the world besides, many fold—divided on this question. Thousands of Southern christians separated from Northern churches, as Abraham from Lot, and founded new churches, which have prospered, in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.

Let Christendom, therefore, remember what it either does not know, or is prone to forget, that Abolition rent in twain the church, before it divided the States—and that Southern christians were constrained for the sake of peace and safety, to *secede* from Northern christians, years before Secession dissolved the union of the old United States.

Other churches avoided like schism by simply ignoring the question. But the sentiment of antagonism, though smothered and concealed; was as real, and not less dangerous to the peace of the Church and the progress of religion.

We assert, therefore, that the antagonism between the North and South, was founded, in a large degree, upon their diverse convictions on a question of conscience—upon a religious issue.

This being so, it is obvious, that the religious conviction of the church member, would largely control his action as a citizen. The Southern conscience, which had been goaded to rend a church upon the relations of the domicile; which stood upon its humble threshold, under the sanction of the Divine Master, to protest prayerfully, but bravely, for the integrity of the social tie between master and slave, against a reckless fanaticism, sowing the seeds of hate amid the scenes of a peaceful home, that Southern conscience, when State power assailed it by law, violating civil right, and inciting to insurrection, rapine and murder, was ready to rise, in the deep sense of religious duty, to break the base bonds of a prostituted union, and to hurl back the invader of its peace, with the stern defiance of war!

The views thus presented, suffice to show, that the causes of variance between the North and South, tending to Secession, were both secular and religious.

The danger to property in slaves, and to all property, valuable because of slavery; the peril to the white race, from the insubordination of the African, under the impulse of Abolition agitation and law; the overthrow of Southern society and the destruction of Southern civilization, by the action of ignorant and fanatical enemies; the submergence of all the hopes for progress of eight millions of civilized men, by the tide of empirical legislation upon our social and political institutions; the subjection of all the interests of the South to the absolute control of an alien and hating majority; these made up the *secular element*, which drove the Southern people to disunion, as the only hope of safety, for their property, their homes, their liberties, their civilization.

The *religious element* arose from other views.

When the white race, possessed of the refinement and christian civilization of the best nations, looked upon the *four millions* of semi-barbarians, entrusted to their keeping by the hand of Providence, they felt a deep and growing responsibility for their improvement in character for time and for eternity. The immortal interests of such a mass of savage life, pressed hard upon the conscience of Southern masters. Nor had they wholly failed to meet it. Out of this large number of the descendants of heathen, in less than two centuries, *half a million are professing members of evangelical churches*. This fact is worth a thousand theories as to the savage nature of slavery. The home of the slave is the only spot, whence, as yet, Ethiopia has stretched out its hands unto God. Missionary effort elsewhere fails to point to such a triumph of Christianity among the sons of Africa, as the Southern Church can justly claim in behalf of Christian slaveholders!

Emancipation, wherever tried, has proved fruitless of christianizing influence upon this race. In the West Indies,



at the North, in the South, the proportion of Christians among the freed Africans, is far less than among the slaves. The reason is obvious. Freedom to a savage or semi-civilized race, is only freedom to be idle and depraved. Such races need guardianship. They are in the infancy of their development—and must be kept in a state of pupillage to a better race. This is the philosophy of the relation of master and slave, based on experience and facts. All other philosophy based on theory, in ignorance of the facts, is vain and frivolous, and in practice, must be vicious.

Northern churches insisted upon emancipation, as a present imperative duty of the slaveholder. They disturbed the relation, and thus prevented the best practicable discipline and education of the slave. They interfered with the conscience of the master in meeting the obligations of duty imposed upon him. They agitated to make the races hate, instead of love and trust each other. They sowed seeds of discord in the Church and made religious instruction difficult and even dangerous. If the master taught his slave to read the Bible, the Abolition emissary used this attainment, as a means of instilling hatred and revenge against his master, and placed an appeal in his hands, for arson, murder and rebellion.

The Church was bound, as a Christian duty, to repel this interference—to protect its fold from the incursions of the wolf—and to preserve the threatened unity of its communion. Religion in the South, for the white and black, must inevitably perish, if the work of Abolition was left unobstructed. The Church, as the guardian of religion, was, therefore, constrained to oppose Abolition, by every lawful means.

Such were the secular and religious elements in the South, which led to a watchfulness of the movements of Abolition in the Northern States. In its success, the South could see no result, but ruin to its industry, to its social and political relations—and to the sacred cause of religion. Home would be blotted from the South; and our land would become one

vast battlefield, where the torch of the incendiary would blaze at every hearthstone, and bloodshed and crime, would reign in the sunny domain, where pleasant associations, and the dignity of virtue, and every Christian grace had made their abode for a century.

If men and women were not prepared, at the risk of property and life, to defend home, civilization and religion, in the fear of God, and without the fear of man, then the South would have proved unworthy of a place among nations, and derelict to the mighty trust, which God had confided to their keeping.

Look now at history! Forty years ago, the North violated the Constitution, as the Supreme Court of the United States, have recently decided, by excluding the South, with its social institutions, from lands purchased with the common treasure of the country. This was a step to increase the power of the North for political action. It disturbed the balance of power. The South complained, but acquiesced for Peace and the Union.

Fifteen years later, the North flooded Congress with Petitions for interference with slavery in the South. It was then almost universally conceded, that the Constitution did not allow such interference. The South said—"If you have no power to act, why disturb our peace by these constant clamours for action? Why insult us in our common counsels by denouncing the domestic relations of our homes? If we are entitled to have slavery, surely we are entitled to hold it in peace."

These appeals for action, at last generated action. Negotiation gave us Oregon. By express law, the South was excluded from it forever. The country became engaged in war with Mexico. Peace brought accessions of new territory. The arms of North and South had united to win a rich domain—and the money of both contributed to acquire it by conquest and purchase.

The North with almost entire unanimity demanded the whole domain for their own colonization and settlement,

and the entire exclusion of the South. By direct and indirect means, it succeeded—and the slaveholder could not take his slave to any part of that vast domain, for acquiring which, he had poured out his blood and treasure.

This was a deep wrong! It was a gross insult! It branded such infamy upon the South, as proclaimed it unfit for association with the people of the North. The South was made use of to acquire, what it was thus declared unworthy to enjoy. This action changed the political balance in every department of the Government. The united North, from that moment, could pass any law, and could elect a President against the will of a united South. Thenceforth the South was at the mercy of the North, and held its dearest rights, at the will of the dominant section.

The South still clung to the hope that the North would do it justice. It tried by the strategy of party combinations, to divide the dominant section, and thus defeat action fatal to its rights and liberties.

But the North, from the moment the balance of power was disturbed, began to consolidate parties in that section, and abolitionize the whole. That once accomplished, the union of the *will* and the *power* to do, made its warfare upon Southern interests effectual, and the consummation of its ultimate purpose, certain. Time would work out the result—and the ruin of the South would be only a question of time.

The North knew this. The South saw it. Still the South struggled to awaken or keep alive in some of the Northern people, a sense of justice to the rights which the Constitution designed to protect. The States labored for this end and the Church prayed for it.

But the North was conscious of its new-born power, and was proud of the mastery it had at last achieved. Its churches pointed to the sin upon the Southern soul—and its demagogues to the stain of slavery on the flag of the Union. Agitation deep and strong took hold of the masses—books and sermons were written—speeches and lectures

uttered, all with one aim—to show that the sin of slavery must be extirpated by the Church, and that the black blot on the American name, imprinted by this Southern crime, must be washed from the flag of a free people forever

In 1856, this Abolition party, (numbering 60,000 in 1844,) had grown to 1,300,000. It only sustained defeat by the accidents of a canvass. But it felt its power, and the South read its doom.

This success was a truce, not a victory. Both sections felt it, and subsequent events proved it. Abolition approached its flood tide, and Northern friends of the South began to give way.

On the memorable night of October 17th, 1859, the oldest commonwealth in the Union, first in settlement, first in organization—Virginia, which had granted a domain to the Union, now forming five great States of the North-west; Virginia, which, in council had done more for the formation and progress of the Union, than any other State; Virginia, which had given her Washington to the military and civil administration of the new-born Republic; this “Ancient Dominion,” was the scene and the victim of an Abolition raid, designed to raise her slaves to insurrection, and to devote her homes to flame and desolation and outrage! The project failed; the invasion was suppressed; the leaders were executed!

We now sadly smile to think, how far less criminal was John Brown, than those Northern professing friends, who, three years ago, hypocritically denounced him, and now, equal him in brutality of purpose and surpass him in its successful execution. *His raid* was, but a faint type of *their cruel war*.

Throughout the North, bells tolled, eulogies were pronounced, the drapery of mourning was paraded, in honor of these martyrs in the sacred cause of Abolition. Instead of the dreadful event producing a reaction against the sentiment, which had originated it, it strengthened and advanced. The friends of Abolition organized anew for the

Presidential election. All available opposition to it was overwhelmed; and the tornado of Anti-slavery swept resistlessly over the North, and bore to the Executive chair its idol, (and such an idol!) and to the halls of Congress a delegation, intent upon adverse action to the institutions of the South.

The North was united upon its idolatrous worship of Anti-slavery; and the South was as united against it. The fatal hour had come, when in solid phalanx, the North took hold upon all the power of the Government, against the impotent voice of a protesting South. Both sections were united—but in stern opposition, the one to the other. They became in fact, *two nations* in sentiment, linked together by a feeble political bond. The Union had ceased in truth; it existed only in form. As well attempt to hold France and England under the same Government, as to hope the North and the South could remain longer in Union, when the one purposed a destructive policy, which the other was yet more strongly bound to resist with all its energy.

The President elect had declared there could be no peace for the South, until the North “could rest in the belief, that it” (slavery) “is in the *course of ultimate extinction.*” He had gravely written, that “those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.” He has realized the truth of this sentiment for the North! It has denied freedom to the South, and it has lost it; it has struck a blow at the liberty of the South, and has fatally pierced its own!

Mr Seward was made the Premier of the new administration; a man, possessed of more power and influence with his party, than any other. He had, in a public speech, a few years ago, declared its fixed policy in these terms:

“Free labor has at last apprehended its rights and its destiny, and is organizing itself to assume the government of the Republic. It will henceforth meet you boldly and resolutely here, it will meet you everywhere, in the Territories and out of them, wherever you may go to extend slavery. It has driven you back in California and in Kan-

sas; it will *invade* you soon in Delaware, Maryland, *Virginia*, Missouri and Texas." (Was not the crack of the rifle of John Brown, the mere echo of the sentiment of the Senator?) "It will meet you in Arizona, in Central America, and even in Cuba."

"You may indeed get a start under or near the tropics, and *seem safe* for a time, but it will be only a *short time*. Even there you will found States only for free labor to maintain and occupy. The interest of the whole race demands *the ultimate emancipation of all men*." Now mark the menace:

"Whether that consummation shall be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, or be *hurried on by violence, is all that remains for you to decide!*" "It is for yourselves, and not for us, to decide how long and through what further modifications and disasters the contest shall be protracted before *freedom shall enjoy her already assured triumph!*"

The policy of the Republican party had been boldly avowed. The exclusion of slavery from the common Territory, and the refusal to admit any more slave States; Abolition in the District of Columbia, and in all forts and arsenals; the outlawry of slavery, by treating it as out of the protection of the Government; the denial of the surrender of fugitive slaves, or so to trammel it, as to involve the liberty, and life of the master; the proclamation of the equality of the two races in the South; agitation for Abolition in Congress, in the States, in the Church; and finally, the throwing of the moral influence of the whole Union against the social institutions of one half of it; the surrounding of slavery by a cordon of free States, thus shutting it up within its present limits, with the avowed purpose, so to endanger our peace, limit our prosperity, and press the growing population of the two races together, as to work out the "ultimate extinction" of slavery, and the revolution of Southern society!

All this was purposed to be done under a Constitution, which recognized and protected slavery—and treated, as equals, free and slave States—and by a Government formed and bound to protect, defend and advance each

and all the States, in all their interests and institutions.

The South was told it had but one thing to decide: Shall the result be rapid and violent—or slow, torturing, and debasing, though not less certain?

The States of the South have humbly appealed to God, and may boldly appeal to Christendom, to justify them in refusing the alternative presented. To accept either horn of the dilemma, was to accept degradation and ruin. What would remain of dignity or virtue in civilization—of liberty and right in Government—of order and progress in society—should a people consent to so base a surrender of its ALL, to the violence of the marauder—or to the slow poison of a torturing and wasting assassination? The South could never, thenceforth, have been free, prosperous or happy—and without these, its civilization—its claim to a place, as a people in Christendom, must perish forever!

The Church of the South can make its appeal to its brothers in Christ, throughout the world—for its justification in sustaining these States in the defence of these great temporal interests. If the Church has ever, any where, prayed and labored for its country in great war struggles, let such Church furnish a parallel to the interests staked upon the cause of the South. If the welfare of the Church is bound up in that of the State—if her safety under the shield of civil government, depends on its integrity and the defence of its law and its Constitution—if there can be no well ordered and prosperous church, where the State is torn by social disorder, or oppressed by external tyranny—then was the Southern Church bound to pray for, and defend these States, from the threatened violence of Northern tyranny, and the menaced convulsion of Southern society.

Where would be the Church interests of Great Britain, should a mad fanaticism proclaim to its laboring classes the overthrow of its monarchy, its aristocracy—its ecclesiastical polity? Where was France and its Church, when social revolution, in its red torrent, rushed through the streets of Paris, with the cry of no government—and no God? Would

the Church, in these cases, be justified in throwing its power into the scale of order and law, and ancient Church polity? And should the Church of God, in these Southern States, remain passively neutral, when a crusade is proclaimed by Abolition, which will raise four millions of slaves, ignorant and debased, into brutal insurrection against their masters—and drench Southern fields in blood, or stain Southern homes with murder, rapine and rape?

Can the followers of Christ remain at ease in their Zion, when the wildest tornado of revolution menaces society—and the Communion of Saints—of masters and servants—was rent by the wedge of cruel hatred and savage War? Could the Church, the guardian of religion, see its foundations upturned, its loving people roused to fury by the teachings of an insane fanaticism, and stand all the day idle, in the midst of such a crisis? Could it deny its mission of peace?

We appeal to Christians everywhere! Are we not justified in standing by our country in the breach, which Abolition threatened to make in our society and in the Church of God?

We believe no such issue was *ever* presented in *menace* to a *Christian nation*, which was not met by *war*.

But let it be remembered, *we did not* resent the menace by war. We sought to avoid war. We prayed, and asked for peace!

The Cotton States decided it was no longer safe to remain in the Union. Eight of them withdrew, by ordinances of Secession. Upon written terms, and for specified purposes, they had *acceded* to that union. They *seceded from* it, when the terms were violated, and the purposes were defeated. They did no act of violence. They neither threatened, nor desired war. They withdrew in peace, and to secure Peace!

The whole question, as presented to them, was, shall we act for our safety upon the menace of violence? or, shall we await the development of the hostile policy of our foes?



As most people have done in human history, who have succeeded in achieving liberty and independence, they acted promptly, and did not await the fall of the blow before taking steps for safety.

In February, 1861, these States adopted a new Constitution, differing but little from the old, and formed a new Confederation.

But they declared no war against the United States. They made provision, it is true, for Public *Defence*, but in their official documents, deprecated the resort to war. They made the navigation of the Mississippi, free to the Northern States. But they did more—they tendered the Olive branch of Peace.

In their very Constitution, they provided that ‘the Government hereby instituted, shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their other late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and public debt, at the time of their withdrawal from them—these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire, to adjust every thing pertaining to the common property, common liability and common obligations of that union, upon the principles of right, justice, equity and good faith.’”

Commissioners were appointed, and were sent to Washington, to propose and to negotiate a peaceful adjustment. After repeated delays, upon pretexts feigned for a purpose, all overtures for peaceful separation, were rejected, and the war policy was proclaimed.

Meantime, the United States continued to hold some of the forts in the Seceded States. These places ceded by the States for the security of their liberties, were bristling with guns, loaded and pointed at their cities and homes—as the securities of Despotism, for its continued oppression !

The President of the United States declared, officially, his purpose to hold, permanently, these forts, and to recapture, by force, those taken by the Confederate States, within their borders. Such a policy could not be permitted—

unless these States were prepared to surrender their position of independence. Each fort was a key to our commerce—and to our liberty. In the hands of a power, which denied our independence, these keys would forever debar us from attaining or enjoying it? The holding of a fort within our borders, was war upon us—and could not be acquiesced in. The Confederate Government so declared to the United States. Submission to this policy would have made secession an empty formality.

But the United States, in possession of Fort Sumter, sought to re-inforce and supply it. This effort, and the rejection of the overtures of peace, made its bombardment a necessity. It surrendered on the 13th of April, 1861,

Two days after its surrender, the President issued his proclamation of war—his call for 75,000 troops—his denouncement of insurgency against 8 large States—and his purpose to suppress secession, by force of arms. This had been a covert policy until Sumter fell. That event compelled its disclosure.

These States sought only to be free and independent. They preferred no claim against the United States. They said, we cannot live under your Government in safety—seek your own welfare in peace—let us seek ours without war—we will settle all questions amicably—since we cannot live together without conflict and contention, let us separate in peace:—“Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee—separate thyself, I pray thee, from me—if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or, if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.”

Could anything be more reasonable and just? Could the South propose terms more Christian in their character?

But Pharoah was resolved not to let the people go! Eight sovereign States, were denounced as insurgents, and were told to return to their homes—or war was declared. The riot act was read to eight commonwealths; and a bill of indictment was found against 12,000,000 of people!

The will of the free people of 8 free States was to be constrained by a free (?) Government, by force of arms! In the name of liberty—liberty to choose their own Government was denied, at the point of the bayonet!

Virginia and the Southern States remaining in the Union, were summoned to arms, by President Lincoln, to suppress the Southern Rebellion. They were, thus, compelled to make war. They could not choose peace and avoid war. They could only choose on which side to array themselves in the war, forced upon them. Could they hesitate?

They chose, upon the issue of war, to take the side of the oppressed, against the arms of the oppressor.

We appeal to Christendom—to Christians everywhere—could the South submit to the rule of the North, whose menace of wrong was thus backed by violence? Could the Christian Church in the South fail to pray for the defence of rights threatened by a usurping Government, or refuse to unite in resistance to that usurpation sustained by the force of arms?

The war has been waged without mercy—barbarously, cruelly and wickedly. If we were regarded by our enemy, as an independent nation, the conduct of the war is contrary to all the rules of civilized warfare, and a violation of the law of nations. No war in modern times, among Christian nations, has been marked by such ferocity—such disregard of private rights of persons and property—such assaults upon the liberty and conscience of private citizens—such atrocities towards non-combatants, men, women and children—and such wicked violations of all sanctions of our Holy religion. In the estimate of international law, our enemy must stand for condemnation in the Pillory of Nations!

We may waive all questions of minor consequence—and the mention of all acts of subordinate officers, which have made a grievous cry ascend to heaven for justice. We may fail to recount the brutal orders of a Pope, a Hunter, and a Butler. Humanity through all time, will remember such

men, only to detest and execrate them. Theirs will be an immortality in infamy !

But we choose to rest our charges upon the official action of the Government.

The Federal Government refuses to recognize our independence, and still claims these States as members of the Federal Union. And yet, at every step of this contest, that Government, in its own view, of the relations of the parties to it, tramples under foot the Constitution, its officers are sworn to support, and which it falsely professes a purpose to restore.

It has made war upon these sovereign States, whose delegated authority it claims to exercise—and without which it would never have existed. It has made war upon them, without justice or mercy, as if these people were aliens and savages. It has blockaded our ports, which the Constitution guaranteed should be open and free. It has declared the universal confiscation of all property held by those it terms, Rebels, in the teeth of the Constitution, and without trial or conviction of the owners for any crime. It has thus, by a general law of Attainder, condemned a whole people, when the Constitution declares, *no Bill of Attainder shall be passed*. It has sanctioned the act of its President in his unconstitutional annulment of the *habeas corpus*. It has established a military Star Chamber, for the trial of its citizens, without authority of law, against the express mandate of the Constitution, without indictment, without a trial by jury, and for crimes not defined by law, but created by military order ! It has muzzled the press, abridged the freedom of speech, and has prohibited the free exercise of religion, even in the Northern States. It has emancipated millions of slaves by a dash of the pen of its President, thus by imperial edict devoting to destruction \$3,000,000,000 worth of property, without compensation and for no public use ! It has stirred up these slaves to insurrection and war upon their masters, and enlisted them in its armies. It has given freedom to the slave, and put chains upon his master,

without warrant of law, and beyond the hope of relief. It has reduced sovereign States to mere provinces, and superseded their Governments by its own military satraps. It has declared its ferocious policy to subjugate or exterminate, to ruin or destroy. It has invaded, by force, the homes of unarmed citizens and burned or plundered them. It has driven helpless women and children from their blazing homes, without shelter to shield them, or food to support them. It has destroyed the implements of husbandry, thus seeming to purpose, what is openly avowed by its agents, the starvation of our people. It has desecrated our houses of worship; has stifled the voice of prayer by violence; and has dragged the ministers of religion from the sacred Church for the utterance of supplication to God for their bleeding country. It has committed the worst crime against the human soul, by requiring men to take its oath of allegiance, as a condition for the privilege of purchasing needful supplies for their families, thus compelling to perjury, or condemning to starvation.

It has so conducted this war against us, as (if we were still members of the Federal Union,) would violate every principle of the Constitution under which it was created. It has defeated every object for which it was formed. It has done gross injustice, though formed "to establish justice." It has stirred up servile insurrection, though formed "to insure domestic tranquility." It has made fierce war upon us, though formed "to provide for our defence." It has spread ruin and desolation in its march, though formed "to promote our welfare." It has destroyed liberty of thought, of speech, of action; liberty of the press—liberty of religion—though formed "to secure the blessings of liberty to us and our posterity!"

It has destroyed our lives—confiscated our property—invaded our homes—engendered a war of races in our midst. It has, when defeated by our armed men in the field, meanly turned its weapons against non-combatants—our women and our little ones. It has traitorously intervened between

the conscience and God, and made religion a mockery : and last, and perhaps worst, it has dared to tempt our people to perjury, by the alternative of starvation to their wives and children !

These wrongs against us—these crimes against God and the human race, are enough to justify these States and the Church, in combined resistance to such an enemy—our resistance now, is a resistance against the destruction of our All.

But let it be remarked, that these acts are, but the execution of the previous measure. Though done subsequent to the war, they demonstrate the existence of a purpose and intent on the part of our enemy, to avoid which, some of these States sagaciously seceded prior to its commencement. None can doubt, that the atrocious vengeance of the North, is but the rapid manifestation of covert purposes as certain of consummation without secession, but which that event ripened into the overt act of wrong and outrage. The war has, in the language of Mr. Seward, already quoted, hurried on the consummation of their policy by violence—which by slower, but equally sure means would have followed, had the South continued as submissive vassals to their unbridled and absolute power !

We insist, then, that the menacing attitude of the North, was not empty bravado—but was the manifestation of a real purpose to destroy the South—and the vengeance, which secession has roused, has only demonstrated that fact the more clearly, by more rapidly maturing the covert and deadly intention. Hatred of the South has been felt for years—and only waited a fit occasion, to ripen into the deadly fruits of a war of desolation, plunder and ruin.

These facts demonstrate further, that civil liberty was imperilled by the continuance of the Union. We have escaped great danger. The people, who have, in two years, so crushed out every spark of constitutional freedom for themselves, were never safe guardians of *our* liberties, but sooner or later, must have destroyed them. With the loss

of civil liberty, religious liberty must have perished: and hence, the Church was deeply involved in the issue, as has been already shown.

The facts which we have thus presented, in review, show that our people have only sought to preserve their liberty, their type of civilization, and their religion; that in doing so, the change of our Government was necessary: that we seceded to effect this change—that we did so with the tender of the Olive branch of peace, and the proposal of negotiation to settle all differences; that we were met with the declaration of a war of subjugation—a war for the ruin of our property, our society and political institutions; that it has been waged fiercely and wickedly—and that, as a Christian people, we stand in the thresholds of our homes, to repel violence, to defend our God-granted rights—to save our free institutions—our civilization and our religion.

One further view may be presented.

We feel, that where two types of civilized life, come into irreconcilable and “irrepressible conflict,” under the same form and system of Government, it is an indication of Providence, that separation between them, is, according to the purpose of God. Two such types, require two nationalities for their appropriate development. • The difference between the North and the South, representatives of two distinct civilizations, grew from small beginnings, until the conflict was angry and fatal to the interests of both in continued Union. Fortunately, the Confederate form of our Government made secession an easy and proper remedy. The finger of God pointed it out—and all subsequent events have only demonstrated the total incompatibility of the Union of the two sections.

It is in this way, that the Divine hand has divided continents, and established nations. The consolidation of a continent, under one Governmental system, has continued, only so long, as some providence did not open the way for separation into distinct nationalities. When that has been accomplished, the world has perceived, how such an event

is fraught with the blessings of a larger progress—a better assured liberty—and a more varied and comprehensive civilization.

Europe was consolidated under Roman dominion. It was rent into separate nations by the seeming overthrow of the best hopes of man. Centralization has since been often attempted; but the Hand which scattered the world at Babel, has as often frustrated the attempt—and Europe, in its decentralization, finds to-day, a more varied, broad and comprehensive development of all the elements which constitute highly civilized life, than were it but one great nation, under a Cæsar, a Charlemagne, or a Napoleon!

Is it not the finger of God, which has dispersed the Babel builders of *this* wide-reaching Union, and has ordained a better destiny in separation, for the two distinctive types of American civilization?

And why should it have been followed by violence? The South sought it in peace. The North opposes it by war!

Do not the events antecedent to the war, justify secession? Do not succeeding events confirm the wisdom and necessity of that action? Does not the history we have traced, show that we should never look back to that Union, but in gratitude to God, that we were rescued from the evils, that must have followed its continuance, and that now, rather than return to that Egypt of our bondage, we should die in the wilderness of revolution? And is not the Christian Church justified in its attitude of prayer for the success of our cause, and in its heroic and patriotic maintenance of our civil and religious liberties?

Christianity has furnished during this war the noblest types of heroic patriotism, which history records. The seal of their blood attests their devotion to the rights and the liberty of their country.

Death has just closed the career of a man, whose name will live, while military genius excites admiration, or Christian virtue has a votary.

Amid the clouds which hung about the dawn of the war,



the sun of Jackson, arose from obscurity. It has gone down at noon, amidst the splendors of achievements, which have had but few parallels in the past.

The beginning of our struggle, found him a modest and unobtrusive professor of Natural Philosophy, in the Virginia Military Institute; a simple hearted, sincere and devout Christian, the teacher of a Bible class, the superintendent of a Sunday school, for negro slaves. His was a nature strong, resolute and firm, because guided only by the Divine will: a mind in perfect peace, because stayed on God. Faith in Him was the motive power of every action—a sense of His omnipresence the air he breathed—submission to His providence, the permanent condition of his soul. In politics he had no aspirations. He clung to the late Union, with the hope of justice to his country, until the proclamation of April 15, 1861.

When that event occurred, the sword he had laid aside from aversion to strife, and love of peace, he resumed, from the conscientious conviction, that civil and religious liberty were staked upon the issue of the war. Firm and decided, but never violent or vengeful, he fought as a Christian should, for right and not for blood. Of undaunted courage, with the real intuition of military genius, he, by fervent prayer, committed our cause into the hands of God before, and *during* battle, and when it closed in victory, he ascribed all the glory and honor to the Lord of Hosts! This was no affectation. It was sincere and true reverence of soul.

He had no ambition for military glory. He wished the war to end. He desired to sheath his dripping sword in the scabbard of peace. He pined for the haunts of his mountain home—for the pleasant affections of family and friends—for the closet of sweet prayer—for the quiet sanctuary of God!

Brought from obscurity by a sense of duty, he struck every blow for his country, as if it were impelled by God's directing hand; and fell a martyr to her liberty, in the arms of a victory, whose glory is immortal. In the exodus

of our people, from the oppression of the old Union, this extraordinary man, meek in submission to his God; holy in Christian virtue; calmly brave, and devoutly prayerful, in the dreadful shock of battle; a Captain of undoubted genius; a victor upon an hundred fields; this Moses of our host, from Pisgah's top, looking to and hoping for the independence of his nation, but doomed, without reaching and enjoying it, to die in "The Wilderness;" resigned his mighty soul to heaven; met its solemn decree, with the trustful words, "It is all right;" and left the glorious heritage of his name to the Christian Church and to his weeping country!

Christianity may well cherish the memory of this holy hero, as the noblest example of pious patriotism; and appeals to his name, as an imperishable proof, that the devout conscience of the South, in the fear and love of God, is constrained to yield up life, a bleeding sacrifice upon the altar of its country independence! For, can any man believe the heroism of Jackson was inspired by any other motive, than the liberty of his country, the honor of God, and the glory of his kingdom? •

In concluding this address, it may be proper to suggest to our Christian brethren throughout the world, the aid they can render us.

We ask no material aid. We need their prayers—their Christian sympathy. We have presented our justification before God and men. We have received reproach and defamation, from ignorance and malignity. Our conscience is void of offence in this war. We stand in our lot, to defend our right. •

We have been reviled abroad for slavery. If it were a curse, *we* are the sufferers, though we did not bring it on ourselves. If it were an evil, we might claim pity, and surely should receive no blame. We deny it is either an evil or a curse, as those terms are intended, when used respecting slaves. But whether so or not, we found it here, and must deal with it, as we found it.

One thing we know. We understand our own business, greatly better than those who are 3,000 miles away. We dictate to no Christian people, nor provoke their ears with faults we think we see in either their social or political systems. Let each be less ready to pluck the mote from the eye of the other and more intent upon the beam in his own. Let each study to fulfil its mission, according to the dictates of an enlightened Christian conscience. We are striving to do our duty. We are a superior race, with an inferior race to deal with. We are its guardians, and it is our pupil, and all this under God's good providence. As a Christian people, we have a work of evangelization to do. We have Africa at our doors. The light of the gospel shines brightly in the cabin of the slave—but is extinguished in the hovel of the Hottentot. We repeat, God put the negro here, and placed us here in authority over him—to regulate him—to make him useful, instead of being unthrifty—industrious and not idle—Christian and not savage. This work we mean to do, despite the efforts of our foes in arms, and the revilings of ignorant fanaticism throughout the world.

All we ask is, that Christian charity may judge us fairly, and give us credit for doing our duty, according to Christian conscience, in protecting our social institutions, as a God-given heritage, against the malignant assaults of our enemies. Beneath the frown of the world's prejudice; beneath the cloud of this cruel war, we feel the smile of God's face, and the pleasant shadow of His Almighty wings! In His arm, we trust—in His might, we have triumphed: His pillar of fire and of cloud is our guide; and we bless Him, that we can still cherish the confiding hope, that in His own time and way, He will, through this sea, red with the blood of our bravest and our best, mark a pathway for His people to the Canaan of Peace, liberty and independence!

Christian brothers throughout Christendom! pray for us! for we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly. Pray for us! that we being delivered from our enemies, and the hands of all that hate us, may serve

our God without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Him, all the days of our life.

Finally : Let us pray for each other ! that the God of Peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant may make His Catholic Church perfect in every good work to do His will, working in it, that, which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ : To whom be glory, for ever, and ever ! Amen.



